The Tasks of the Communists in the Trade Union Movement

(Discussion)

Heckert:

(Germany)

Comrades, Comrade Lozovsky told us this morning we must adopt a clear, unequivocal policy on the trade union question; he warned us especially against precipitate policy and advised us to reject any tactics which might lead to a split in the trade unions. He stated this very clearly. He said: If we had accepted the slogan of splitting the trade unions, or in any way acquiesced in it, it would have meant destruction for the whole Communist movement. I also believe that we communists have been guilty of the greatest error if we had propagated the splitting of the trade unions, or made any concessions to those elements that want to bring about such a split. I hope that this Congress will express clearly that every splitting tendency must be fought ruthlessly. It is absolutely necessary to show to the working class that we are for unity of the trade unions, if we are to carry on any serious propaganda for the United Front. We would make ourselves ridiculous before, yes, despised by the whole working class if we were to fight for the United Front and sympathise at the same time with the splitters.

However, in many countries, the trade unions have already been split, not only just now by the Amsterdammers, but because parallel organizations existed in those trades before and during the war. At the last Congress we had put before our comrades that it was their task to work in those dual organizations for unity. Our communist comrades have not done all they could in this line. In fact, in all countries where the trade unions are split, the communists, instead of fighting for a common goal, have often opposed one another. I would therefore like to say this: every communist who does not support other communists, who are active in some other organizations, helps the reformists and those who want to break up the trade union movement. It is therefore our first duty as communists to eliminate all our little differences and work together for a common goal. I should like to admire our Italian comrades who have brought about in their organization that their members understand that they must be active even in Fascist organizations, that even there we must create our cells.

The policy of cell formation has been much attacked even after the Third World Congress. In the German Party, for instance, there was quite a conflict on this point. There was a whole group of comrades who declared that cells were bad, and therefore developed among those comrades a liquidating tendency which purposed to destroy the whole trade union work of the Comintern and the whole international communist trade union movement. We have opposed these elements. This tendency was the cause of the Friesland crisis. We have expelled those people from our organizations and conducted a decisive fight to realise the unity of all revolutionary comrades. Naturally there have been unnecessary conflicts in this struggle; many a communist did not speak or act wisely enough; but it does not suffice to deal with the opposition to so-called revolutionary unions in our Party with a few words, as Comrade Lozovsky did when he declared that Comrade Matolff had acted very foolishly and written an idiotic article against the communists, and that Comrade Heckert and Brandler saved the situation.

Comrades, I will not agree to have this order of the Salvation of the Unions pinned on my breast; I will not accept to characterize Matolff's action as criminal and damnable without first saying that the unionists are partly responsible for it. We must divide the blame between both sides, if we wish to be just. The fault of the Party is that it did not realise that this policy would make for conflicts if we did not carry on sufficient preparatory work in the unions. We relied upon it that the Communists in the union would to the work. What happened was that our Unionist friends fought against the formation of factions and our Party comrades let the thing drag without any work. That is why it came to such conflicts with the union. Luckily, we were able to reach an agreement at the union Congress at the beginning of October and to create a basis for harmonious cooperation in the future. But many other Communist Parties have followed this bad example of not forming cells within the Unions.

I would like to mention especially two parties that have been guilty of this omission. First the French Party which in spite of its promises of last year to become active in the C.G.T.U., to build cells within that Federation, did nothing till the events came to a point when the split was accomplished and the French Trade Union movement became a perfect muddle. At its Congress in Marseilles, the French Party had the opportunity of gaining the leadership of the revolutionary movement in France if it had followed the advice which had been given it, namely, to create a program which would unite all revolutionary forces. The French Party did not do this; nothing was said at the Congress as to what the Communists should do in the Trade Unions; Comrade Magoux who has since been expelled is not a little responsible for the crisis in the French Party. This should be a lesson to us for the future. When a Party takes a stand on all questions before the working class, it will be possible to create closer connections between the leaders of the Unions and the Party as a result of which such people as Moinnouveau and Mouat will become members of our Party, our Party will become a real proletarian organization and no one who does not base the policy of the Party on the proletariat will get the leadership. The old sectarianism must be put an end to. The Comintern must
use all its influence on the leaders of the Party and the C.G.T.U. to co-operate in the interests of the working class of France.

A word on Czechoslovakia. We found the same tendencies in the Czechoslovakian Party. It was primarily the Trade Union leaders who opposed the formation of a new organization. Our comrades said quite openly: Why cells? That only leads to trouble; it suffices when the leaders of the Trade Unions are Communists, but it must have become apparent to our Czechoslovakian comrades that this did not suffice. Had they a single strong cell in the Union a year ago, Tayerle would not hold to-day such a position as he does.

I believe that our bad experience in Germany, and the example of Czechoslovakia, will teach us for the future to pay more attention to the resolutions of previous Congresses.

A few words more on the German situation. We will not say that all our attempts to win the Trade Unions were good attempts. Comrade Lozowsky said this morning that tens of thousands of members are leaving the agricultural organizations without the Party taking any action. There are other causes for this, however, than those Comrade Lozowsky advanced.

It is true that the German movement of the agricultural workers has lost hundreds of thousands of members. But the reason is that these organizations are led by a bureaucracy which does not make the "social" policies, and tactics and issues of the workers subordinate to the interests of the social democratic politicians. Since no one interested himself in the agricultural workers, these workers rebelled. Unorganized before the war, they largely disappeared in Germany. We had an organized, 800,000 workers after the revolution. At the highest period of its existence, the "Deutsche Landarbeiterverband" numbered 27,000 members; during the war this number fell to 3,000. This point of organization was therefore something quite new, and the bureaucracy of the Federation made use of the organization to further its own interests.

We had already attempted to approach the agricultural workers in what is called Communist agricultural organizations. This was a complete failure. If the revolution had proceeded further, had we been able to do something in the interest of the agricultural workers, it would have been a different story. So far as the trade unionism of the social democrats it is true that the trade unions are in the hands of the Social Democratic party, and the bureaucracy of the agricultural workers organization in their own hands.

In the following years, hundreds of thousands left the organization. Our comrades were faced with the problem: should they re-organize these working masses into a new organization led by Communists, which would not be capable of fighting; or should we not be afraid that the Amsterdamers would use this as a new excuse for an offensive against the Communists, and would say: you have another proof that the Communists are trying to split the Labor Unions.

Had we attempted to form a new organization at the time when we were not masters of the situation, the trade unionists would have said: if you do not join us, we will not do anything for you. I do not deny that we have been too active in some questions. But our lack of strength on the one side, and the treacherous apparatus of the Amsterdamers on the other, makes it hard for us to undertake any action; there have been many cases where we have prevented a local action on the part of some impatient comrades only with difficulty.

At a time when class differences have become so great, when our problems are so difficult, it is impossibly to undertake any action for which the working class is unprepared. To gain influence over the working class we must possess a well-organized apparatus, and not only that, but also the confidence of the large masses of the working class in our Communist policy. I believe that I can say in the name of the Party that we will be better prepared for a fight in the next month because our Party is gaining the confidence of ever larger masses of the proletariat. The Party undertakes greater actions now, because it has the broad masses which sympathize with it, and possesses an apparatus capable of leading a movement.

But we can offer no panacea. I wish to underline what Comrade Lozowsky said this morning; for every country we need a Trade Union programme which corresponds with the peculiar conditions of that country; we must state our task and the masses will understand us. We also need a different policy for every industrial group, often for every union, and if Comrade Carr allows himself to speak 10 minutes to explain this.

In Germany, for instance, we can organize the building trades for action. When we control a whole section, we can deal with employers who are not yet strongly entrenched, not yet organized at all over the country; the situation is quite different among the railroad workers. There are over a million workers among the railroad employers. But we are opposed by all the weight of the State. It has created laws to suppress the workers. We could tell the Building Trade workers: Bildet eure!
Contras, this seems to be obvious, and sounds almost like a platitude, but in reality it is not so. We notice that in the communist parties, especially in the younger ones, the women's movement is somewhat in the nature of a side issue, instead of being closely connected with the general party work. A lack of contact is especially reprehensible in our Trade Union work. It is a well known fact that the party leaders and the responsible party officials very frequently do not even know what their women members belong to, how they work and in what way they are connected with their nucleus. Such an investigation into the membership conditions of our women members is certainly necessary and is absolutely necessary as a basis for our further tasks.

Secondly, the Party Executive must see to it that a direct and close contact should exist between the organs appointed by the Party for the responsible conduct of the Trade Union work (be this organ a Trade Union department, section or a council) and the Central Women's Committee of the Communist Party. These organs must act in close cooperation and must draw up a plan for the whole work. We must not allow the supervision from the Centre and what steps should be taken for the training and systematic organisation of the women trade union members for the tasks among the wide masses.

The prospects of this work are very favourable, especially as we have in the masses of working women a good recruiting ground which, not being organised, is open to us. The majority of the working women are not too well paid, and are in the Trade Union bureaucracy, and can be made amenable (with greater ease than the men) to the class struggle, owing to their simpler and unalloyed class instincts. The working women are more likely than the men to light upon the class interests regardless of all those restrictions which make it so difficult at present to gain any ground among the masses of the social democratic working men and among the trade unionists of old standing. We should like to draw a comparison which should teach us a lesson. When, as a result of the political events of 1917, women's suffrage was introduced into various countries, we witnessed the phenomenon that the bourgeoisie succeeded in bringing over into its camp large masses of women who were as yet untouched by any political bias. Thus, it is not only the bourgeois women who have become the best political agents of the bourgeois class, but large numbers of working women were drawn into the Nationalist camp, into the bourgeois parties, and into the clerical camp, viz., into the camp of our class enemies. They have contributed to the strengthening of the bourgeoisie, if only on the parliamentary field. It is still more difficult to happen on the trade union field, which is of far greater importance in the class struggle than parliament. The women will be won over by the party with the clearest aims and the most energetic action on behalf of the interests and needs of these masses who will follow it into the struggle for these needs. With these masses behind us, we shall succeed in carrying on our attack against the bourgeois class and detaching still greater masses from that trade union leadership which is hostile to the class struggle and in boring them over into the camp of the revolutionary class struggle.

Tasca: (Italy)

I cannot speak on behalf of the entire Italian delegation. This is possible only because the Italian Communist Party has always recognised the importance of the Trade Union work and had started the forming of nuclei within the Trade Unions before the split of Leghorn, which has given us common experiences and unity of action.

I will dispose of secondary questions in a few words. First of all let me say that our delegation has accepted the thirteenth point of the Appeal. In the fact that the unorganized women workers, within the Trade Unions must be systematically organized. If the Communist International is still discussing the advisability of the formation of nuclei, if it has not been carried out, in the meantime the party must do its utmost to make all its members carry on intensive work within the trade unions, we need not be surprised that next to nothing was done by the Party in connection with the taking over of the work of the trade unions.

We are able to state that only in very few, and in the comparatively best organized parties (the Russian, Bulgarian, German and Austrian) this work was taken in hand. In the other countries the situation is most unsatisfactory.

The two organizational tasks which lie before us are as follows:

1. In establishing communist nuclei in the Trade Unions, care must be taken that the women party members should be systematically included in their fraction.
reasons which he has given and for a variety of other reasons. The dictatorial tactics of the reformists, backed more or less openly by the Communist parties, render it extremely difficult for expelled trade union minorities to take any action for the defense of trade unionism, denying the Red trade unions the possibility of any concrete daily work for the immediate interests of the workers.

Furthermore, since the communists find themselves in a minority in the trade unions and are driven from the workers' organizations, it becomes increasingly more difficult if not impossible, to maintain any form of continuity with the illegal work of the Communist Party, which could find in the trade unionist movement a valuable support. It is absolutely necessary to clear up a few points in Comrade Lovozvsky's statement. We are speaking to Comrade Lovozvsky's one ought to give very precise criteria which should serve the Communists in their trade union activities.

We did not quite understand whether it was necessary to break away from Amsterdam upon obtaining a majority of the international federation, or upon obtaining a majority in the National Confederation. We ask Comrade Lovozvsky to clear up this point.

We are part of the second solution, namely to break off any contact upon obtaining a minority in the National Confederation, because we think this presents the least danger of scission. Of course, it is impossible to evade all the dangers of scission if the Red International of Trade Unions is not to become more and more a propaganda and educational center of trade union organizations, but a solution ought to be found that would present the least danger in this respect.

I have not the time at my disposal to deal with the problem of the alliance between the Comintern and the Proletinun. But I maintain that this question ought to be solved by the Congress of the Comintern, for it is absolutely necessary that the Comintern be independent in the Comintern Congress should be agreed among themselves on the policy which they should maintain.

I would also ask Comrade Lovozvsky to enlighten me upon yet another point: the Factory Council movement.

The Factory Council movement is becoming of very great importance in Germany. This problem has a direct bearing on the problem of scission, and we want some light on this point, because it is a question that may become of actual moment in other countries as well.

Regarding the question of the nucleus, we believe that the Red International, in its form of organization, should endeavor to create conditions for common activity with the syndicalists in order to unite in action in order to organize the workers and, at any events to make sure that our action and activities are consistent with the revolutionary struggle.

We are against inserting paragraph 20 in the general theses of Comrade Lovozvsky. This paragraph comes after paragraph 17 which says that the communists cannot and ought not, in the name of such a syndicalist principle as the right of the working class to organize, the nucleus. This is a right which should not be denied them under any circumstances.

Paragraph 20 goes on to say that in countries where syndicalist revolutionaries have had the opportunity to organize masses, or where in consequence of a number of historical causes there is a pronounced mistrust in political parties among certain groups of the revolutionary workers, the communists should work side by side with the syndicalists in order to create an impression that this would be the substitute of the direct work of the communist nucleus in France. We would like to be enlightened on this point. If it is a United Front formula we have nothing to say against it, because this should be carried out not only in conjunction with the syndicalists but with all the organizations. If this means to say that the French communists, in the name of the principles of the French Revolution, should act upon the conquest of the syndicalists, we are against including in the general theses such a formula that could be construed in this manner.

Comrade Lovozvsky declared that the relations between the political parties and the trade union movement are a question of contention; that is true, but an understanding is necessary. The application of communist principles and methods is always conditioned by the correlation of forces, but this does not mean to say that the correlation of forces should take the place of principles.

Garden:

(Australia)

Comrades, speaking on behalf of the Australian delegation I may say that we affirm the Theses as given by Comrade Lovozvsky. Lenin has said that the greatest task of the Western party is to unite its organization with the working masses. It is a few words to the Anglo-Saxon section because everyone realizes that there is a weakness in regard to the organizational work of the Anglo-Saxon movement. You will find that the German movement is able to maintain itself in the midst of all the disputes among the French workers you will find that there is still manifestation among the masses. The same is in Italy. But when you come to the Anglo-Saxon movement you find that the Communists work in such a way that the working masses have
Although the Australian Communist Party is a small party and has not the big organization so far ad Australia is concerned. The Communist Party in Australia has a membership of just close on one thousand and yet it is able to direct just close on 400,000 workers—that is, including the unemployed. It is the only party in Australia that has an organised workers' wing. It also directs 110,000 organised workers in Brisbane, Queensland.

The Communist Party in Australia is based on the nucleus system. Every union has its nucleus, from 20 down to one mixed industry, from every industry. All nucle leaders must meet once a week and these nucle leaders from the unions discuss the problems of their organisations, the problems of the working class of Australia.

In every discussion of problems they formulate their tactics and then go out to their various unions, factories, workshops and mines and carry out the policy as directed. The leaders of the nuclei formulate that policy. On every burning question that affects the working class you will find that the nucle leaders are the first in the field to give direction to the working class how to meet that situation.

The Labour Council of New South Wales constitutes 120 unions. Yet the Communists Party has full control of the Executive of the Labor Council and the Party is based on the Labour Movement—and we have the same difficulties confronting us as the English Party has. When we quarrelled with the Australian Labour Party in 1919, when we were beaten by six votes at the conference, we isolated ourselves, took no part in politics whatever, and directed all our energies to the industrial field. Everybody set out for the organisation of the workers to break down craft barriers and make one union in every industry, link up all our unions into one union having six divisions—all the workers being linked up in that direction: that is all the transport workers together; all the miners together, all the agricultural workers, and in six departments we have linked up all the workers of Australia. We found that by directing our energy inside we were able to liquidate the I.W.W., which was the militant organisation in Australia. The I.W.W. changed their tactics and we were able to get inside the craft unions for the formation of Industrial unions, and working within the unions to break down the craft barriers and link up all their forces into six great industrial departments through out Australia.

The moment we decided to conduct political activity there was the A.S.P., S.L.P. and the Breakaway section of the Labour Party. The A.S.P. called a conference of all militant workers of New South Wales and formed a Communist party. The trade union movement decided to be represented and sent delegates.

At that conference, we decided to form a Communist Party. After a short time there was a split, but ultimately we came together and we are the only Communist Party in Australia at the present time. The result being that the Communist Party directs all the work of the trade unions. As far as the Labour Party was concerned, we found that the policy of the Labour Party, the policy that was full of opportunism, that was directed by reformists—we found that the militant section of the working class could even direct the policy of that party. In June 1921 the Labour Party put out a signal of distress. It called upon the workers to give all their aid, and we decided that we would attend this conference called by the Labour Party. In Melbourne. Out of the 21st of the last of the conference that has been held in Australia assembled and there were present delegates representing 700,000 workers. What did we find? We found that we were able to change the policy of the Labour Party. The Labour Party believed in the maintenance of a White Australia, believed in nationalisation. We changed the objective from nationalisation to Socialisation of industry by revolutionary political and industrial action. But the Labour Party was not satisfied, they attempted to gag the conference and call an adjournment of their own in October 1921. They deleted the words "by revolutionary political and industrial action" and inserted the words "by Constitutional means." Another Congress was held in the last of the Northern Trade Union movement along with the Communist Party said to the Labour Party that they would not endorse the policy of the June Conference of 1921.

The 1922 conference endorsed the policy of June 1921, and went further to give the option to Labour councils to allow the affiliation of the Communist Party with freedom for the Communist Party for propaganda and organisation that they would not agree to in 1921, so you see that in one year of operation in the trade unions the units were able to accomplish something that we could not accomplish previously.

Again, when the capitalists attack the workers were launched we got all the workers together, and instead of allowing one section to go down one after another. The working class of Australia must stand solid, speak with one voice, and one voice we decided on these lines. The Commonwealth Government was appealed to by the employers, a conference was decided to be held. Some of the Unions objected. We authorised delegates to go to the conference, and out of eighteen delegates from Australia on the employers side we found nine Communists from different parts of Australia at this great conference called the Commonwealth Government. And what was the result of that conference? The employers left the conference. They said that all that we were doing there, was enumerating the doctrine of Lenin and Trotsky, of having more than in the pay of Russia and that we were not there for the good or the benefit of the working class of Australia. We came back with the propaganda message to the masses. The masses rallied round our banner and Australia is the first country in the world that was able to withstand the offensive, was able to say, "No longer will you reduce our wages, no longer will you tamper with our hours, no more lengthen our hours. We will shorten our hours instead of lengthening them". It was the only country in the world because the masses rallied round the slogan "Hands off wages and hours." And the whole policy was directed by the Communist Movement in Australia—small in numbers but strong in power and influence.

Again, we not allow everybody who applies for membership in the party to rush in. When a man applies for membership in the party from any union we give his name to the leader of the union and the applicant then, our leader, for a period. Any proposal that is put forward in his union for the benefit of the mass and that is opposed by him—is registered against him and we say he is not a fit person to be a member of the Communist Party of Australia. And we shall use our organisation, the masses and we shall use every means to extend that influence by directing the policy of the masses and organizing them, because we believe that the masses are well able to do justice to them, determined to maintain their conditions, and it is the business of the Communist Party to get to work and line them up in that direction.

And now a word about splits. The splitting movement amongst the trade unions started in 1918. For two and a half years we were fighting the reformists with the results that the militant section won out. The reformers went down. The revolutionary movement kept hammering away amongst the trade unions because they had the control of the machine that issued the propaganda. The Labour Council of New South Wales which directed the whole policy of the State council proposed to take over the machine that so that the propaganda continued to go on. When the split started in the Trade Union movement the reactionaries wanted the expulsion of all revolutionary workers. We won through the ranks and got the I.W.W. who advised the I.W.W. to go right into the Trade Union movement, which they did and "White-an" it. Let me explain here that the white ant is an animal that attacks only dead wood, it never touches living matter. The result of our activities was that in the agricultural department there is one union comprising 120,000 workers. In the mining industry we have linked up all the workers in and around the mines, miners, engineers, blacksmiths, 45,000. In the domain of land transport we have all the workers of the railways, from engine drivers to porters, linked up—in 58,000 in all. We have seventeen building trades in Australia and they have agreed to form one organisation, the Brotherhood of Industrial Union of Australia. This comprises 42,000 workers. All these affirm the class struggle and maintain that capitalism can only be overthrown by revolutionary political and industrial action.

The result of this militant activity has been the linking up of these forces into one great union which is breaking down all craft barriers. One other thing. This is what we are giving to the world. This is something that much week meeting yielded, that the details are printed and we give it to the leaders of the nuclei, to give directions to the union how to act.

I will close by giving the direction to support the Labour Party that has been issued by the Labour Council. Here it is:

1) The Labour Council recognises the class struggle and bases its organizational plans and its propaganda on this fact.

2) The council further recognises this struggle of the class as capitalist society for political power—and the council can no more be neutral toward political parties engaged in this struggle than to the strucure itself. Therefore this council declares the following to be the basis of its attitude to the existing political parties.
2) The Trade Union Movement in Australia combines a mild recognition of the class struggle with the recognition and support of the Labour movement. The Australian Labour Party, on the support of this party, its methods and its objectives means that the awakening revolutionary consciousness of the workers, together with their desire to wage a class war against the capitalist system, is transferred by the machinery of the bourgeois political state, into the hands of the labor politicians, into social peace, which is the negation of the class struggle.

3) The Labour Council holds that the Labour Party is a part of the broad struggle class movement and serves the interests of the workers from time to time by its organization and propaganda in the defence of the every day struggle of the workers when they are engaged in fighting such questions as the maintenance of the 44 hour week, etc.

At times the Labour Council will support the labour party so far as support of the everyday demands of the workers necessitates this action. Also the council holds that in face of these changing conditions the capitalist class upon the workers of this country is in the interests of the working class that the Labour Party at this juncture should be returned to power.

b) Because it will offer a more effective resistance to the onslaught by the capitalist class on the basic wage than the National Party.

c) It will also demonstrate to the workers that the Labour party cannot bring about any lasting betterment to the workers unless we have active within the capitalist State.

d) This council, while fighting in the everyday struggle for an improvement in the Standard of living for the Working Class, realises that it is impossible to obtain economic security for the workers under capitalism. Therefore, this council attempts to direct this everyday struggle of the workers into a struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a working class political state. Such a struggle can only be adequately organized and carried through in the interest of the workers as a whole, when the trade unions will act in perfect unity with the revolutionary political party of the working class.

This is a sample of the mandates we are giving to the nucleis, to go into the unions, the police of working amongst the masses. We believe that if the Anglo-Saxon countries—England, America, Ireland, etc.—develop the same lines of policy, that we have here and where we are to be found that the Anglo-Saxon communists will have the power to direct the future policy of the masses in those countries.

**Kucher:**

(America)

Comrades. I am not here to tell you any long story but present a few facts as briefly as possible.

I would like to have it understood that I am not here as an official of the American Party but as the representative of a distinct movement—the Independent Unions and on behalf of the United Labour Council of America. I am here rather to protest against the American Party and a group who have come here claiming to speak for all American Labour.

The Independent Unions, who are industrial unions in structure and activity, are being accused of being the cause of the well-known movement in America because the militants are within them. You are informed “dual unionism” is the root evil; even if that were so, the unions now known as Independents are not the cause of this, so far as they are in no way “dualist.”

In their origin they are partly the results of countless expulsions for many years, of militant individuals and minority groups who, unable to get back to the Federation Unions, were forced to form themselves into organizations. In addition to the fact that the A. F. of L. confined itself to organizing the more highly skilled workers into skilled craft unions and altogether ignored the great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled, the neglected workers spontaneously formed unions, often local in scope, and who remained isolated. These organizations refused to become part of the Federation or its unions.

To unify and control all of the activity, it was necessary to form the United Labour Council in order to co-ordinate the activity and weld kindred unions into “One Union for each Industry.” The existing Independent Unions have been “dualized” or inducing members to withdraw from the so-called “general movement.” The field for activity among the unorganized was large and we have directed our energies in that direction, and find the workers responding to our industrial leadership. We have always realized the weakness of craft unionism and even were the militants to join the Federation the masses would not respond. The only thing we would accomplish would be to discredit the militants who now have the confidence of these workers.

We are accused of attempting to form a “dual” federation whereas we are trying to unify the various forces in the Federation in order that a common policy and aim may be created throughout the movement that we may eventually have a unified organization that can win and fight for the workers against the combined capitalist interests.

We are in accord with the program as laid down by the R. I. L. U. and protest against certain elements in America distorting the intent of the entire program. Several.

Those who do not understand the American movement and the Independent Unions are an artificial creation for the purpose of establishing "ideal" unions. This is not so. The independent union development in America is a national development, and so far as it is a natural trend we must recognize it as a factor and being a factor we must make allowance for it in all our activities.

We find here in the report of Comrade Zinoviev’s opening remarks that he mentions the Communion membership in America above 8,000 and we find in the reports of the Trade Union Educational League delegate who spoke previously, that they claim to have 30,000 active trade unionists. I wish to state that this was not natural that the party could be so weak and yet have such material influence in industrial fields.

In regard to the American problem, we had hoped that the Germans and Russians particularly, as well as all of you for that matter, would make it a point to consider the various phases of the American movement. I wish to state that in regard to the question of liquidation or disbandment of groups known as revolutionary or independent unions I wish to protest while I am here against the use of the official press by a portion of the movement in order to merely present its own viewpoint without having any substantial facts to work upon. If it were a matter of keeping to facts good, but in this case the misrepresentations are so great that it is a crime to the movement to publish such a publication. I wish to state that in regard to the Independents are concerned, we applied for admission to the Red Trade Union International when it was formed. The bulk of the authors, the bulk of the militant workers have been naturally drawn to the revolutionary unions. The question of affiliation with the Red International of Labour Unions was carried unanimously, showing the sentiment of the workers in these unions.

Another point that should be emphasized is this. It has been mentioned by a previous American speaker that the independent unions should disband—liquidate,—and go into the American Federation of Labour. The slogan is “Go to the masses.” But we do not find the masses in the American Federation of Labor. The previous speaker on the American question stated that there were 56,000,000 eligible workers. Yet there are not here more than 4,5000 members of the American Federation of Labour, and today you will hardly find much above 2,000,000 workers, if that. The masses will not join the Federation. They are opposed to the Federation. Any hope of inducing the masses to join the Federation is a lot of Labor bound to meet with failure. The A. F. of L. has so discredited itself that the masses will not respond. If the slogan be “Go to the masses” let us go to the masses, do not let us look for them in the decayed structure of the American Federation of Labor. The chief plea is to go into the Federation in order to reform it. You cannot reform any such structure as the Federation. Again, I wish to emphasize the American movement clearly, is to know the thought of reforming the Federation, the American movement.

There are many things that I might speak of in regard to the agitation that has disrupted, or at least caused differences in the ranks of the American movement, but I will refrain from this where all remarks would be recorded. Having the interest of the movement at heart I will not enter any further remarks as to the records or statements or claims made by the opposition force.

I wish to propose this. We in the independent unions recognize that in so far as there are certain valuable elements in the American Federation of Labor, and insofar as there is a structure which can be utilized at least for one purpose, activity should be carried on within these lines. The American Federation is merely reforming it—for that is next to impossible—but in order to expose the methods used by the reactionary officials; in order to carry on the agitation for the general amalgamation of industry—not because we hope to achieve the same as propaganda means, and for that reason we are in favor of the
The Situation in Turkey

Orhan: (Turkey)

Comrades, you have read in the papers about the mass arrests of communists in Asia Minor and about the dissolution of the workers' Union of Turkey, in Constantinople. In order that you may well understand the significance of this new turn in the policy of the Kemalists and of these recent persecutions in particular, I find it necessary to inform the Congress of the general activities of the Communist Party of Angora and of Constantinople as well as the policies of the Nationalist Government.

The Turkish Communist Party was formed at the time when the bourgeois nationalist government, initiated by the workers and peasants, took a position that was detrimental to the vital interests of communism itself. The Turkish Communist Party, therefore, at the time of its formation, found itself faced by two enemies: imperialism and bourgeois nationalism. The Party, considering that the struggle against imperialism, our greatest enemy, was of world-wide importance, decided to support the government so long as it fought imperialism, while demanding democratic reforms for workers and peasants and trying to organise them. These decisions were made in conformity with the resolutions of the Second Congress concerning nationalist and colonial questions. The Party has not changed this policy from the time of its formation until the present. As proof of this, I might refer to the proclamation issued by the Party to the army, and to the workers and peasants, summing them to the struggle for the final victory. In another Party proclamation addressed to the Greek army and working masses, the latter were invited to rise and to disorganise their army, which was fighting only for the Greek bourgeoisie and British imperialism.

Still another proclamation was issued by the Party calling upon the people of Constantinople to form a united front against reaction and imperialism, and not to allow the Sultan to escape but bring him before the supreme tribunal of the people.

The Home and Foreign Policies of the Government.

The Government of the Great National Assembly, born out of the struggle for independence and proclaiming that it is fully for the "National Pact" and against imperialism, has shown during the last three years by its conduct, that its policy has been one of betrayal. The following facts are instructive in this respect:

1) When their relations with the Soviet Government were just started, the representatives sent by the government to Moscow stated that there was a large Communist Party in Turkey, that this Party had a numerous following among the peasants, and that peasants' soviets were already functioning in several localities.

2) In the first period of its existence, trying to deceive Soviet Russia, the government formed under the name of the Green Army, a so-called Bolshevik Party consisting exclusively of bourgeois elements.

3) After the arrival of the first soviet ambassador at Angora, the government formed an official Communist Party composed of the remainder of the Green Army, high government officials, and intellectuals.

4) The delegation sent by the government to the London Conference, to please the imperialist Powers announced in all the European capitals through which it was passing that a score of Communists, among whom were our brave comrades Soubhi and Ehdine Neji had been taken away, and that they were going to put an end to all the other imprisoned comrades, so that the plague of Bolshevism would no more infect the country.

5) The agreement with the French in 1921 proves that the government is betraying the East, and that it has given away the "National Pact."

6) Finally, we have the recent persecution directed against the Communist Party and the Turkish Labourers' Union, coinciding with the convocation of the Lausanne Conference.

As to its home policy, the activity of the Angora government consisted in checking all free activity on the part of all parties and groups favoring democratic reforms, in breaking the opposition before it had time to crystallise, and in deceiving the people by solemn promises. This policy has found its concrete expression in the following facts:

1) The government strangled the "People's League," which had been formed within the great National Assembly and which advocated a programme of extensive reforms.

2) It rejected the electoral system of occupational representation proposed in the original draft of the constitution.

3) In order to stifle the opposition in the Great National Assembly, the government organised the "Group of Solidarity," and, in order to ensure its domination over the masses, it formed in all parts of Asia Minor, so-called Order-guards composed exclusively of capitalists, landholders, and speculators.

4) In spite of its promises, the government inaugurated no reforms for the benefit of the working masses. For instance, it prevented by every means the establishment of working-class organisations, and it is crushing the peasants under an unendurable burden of taxation.

The relations between the Party and the Masses.

The slogans advanced by the Party found an echo among the masses of wage-workers and exploited masses, of whom the most enlightened are the Young. In spite of the campaign which the government has launched against the Party, the workers and peasants supported it in ever greater numbers. Within a very short time the Party has gained important victories. During the period of its activity from March to October 1922, it did good work of education and propaganda and advocated also the Red International of Labour Unions and the Young Communists. Because of its influence on the masses, the government felt it necessary to put an end to its activities.

Constantinople.

I wish to say a few words on the working class movement in Constantinople, and on the influence of the Communist Group in that city where the government has recently discovered the "working propagandists of the communist propaganda. In Constantinople, the work was much harder. Comrades, I need not describe the difficult and tragic situation of our comradesstruggling against the reactionary..."
Turkish government, and against imperialism, the arch enemy of communism. But, in spite of all these difficulties, in spite of the fact that the mass of the population is opposed to the bourgeois class, the workers are still working, still fighting, still struggling, still advancing. The workers, in spite of their conciliation and failure to take all possible measures, have not given up the fight. They continue to work hard, to strive, to fight, to win. The workers' class, the proletariat, is the most powerful class, the class that is leading the struggle, the class that is winning the struggle. The workers, in spite of their conciliation, and failure to take all possible measures, have not given up the fight. They continue to work hard, to strive, to fight, to win.

Comrades, the Third International considers it as its essential duty to stand up for the workers' rights and to help them to win their demands. The workers, in spite of the workers' community, have not given up the fight. They continue to work hard, to strive, to fight, to win. The workers' class, the proletariat, is the most powerful class, the class that is leading the struggle, the class that is winning the struggle. The workers, in spite of their conciliation and failure to take all possible measures, have not given up the fight. They continue to work hard, to strive, to fight, to win.

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The last question we shall deal with is the question of Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia we have had the Pasteur of the past time that comes and goes. That community, the past time that comes and goes, in Czechoslovakia occurred approximately in the same manner as in France. However, there were some differences. In Czechoslovakia, there were more than two important workers that stood for the whole course of this period and then the majority organized and convinced a congress for the period of the organizations in their present three clauses. By interpreting this we followed the interpretation given by before the interpreters before the Congress.

At the present time we are confronted with an accomplished fact. We shall state the reason. The French Trade Unions, I shall emphasize, took a characteristic feature of the activity of our comrades in Czechoslovakia and in this case theCommunist Party had the opportunity to elect a majority for the Congress of the central trade union, in which a central trade union was created in Czechoslovakia, though less than in France, there is a conform process to the work of the French Trade Unions. There is in Czechoslovakia a larger federation of agricultural workers, it is called the Boles. Shortly before the Congress this federation suspended the payment of membership dues, which was continued in the period of the elections. If it should have continued, it would have been suspended, the Boles would have been suspended, the federation of the Communist Party. The Congresses would have had a strong delegations as the reformists, 50 of our comrades would have not remained outside the Congress, as a result of the relative penalties, but it is the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was afraid to obtain a majority at the Congress, for it would have been faced with many difficulties. That was the final result. The reformists expelled the revolutionary factions and brought about a split in the Trade Union movement under conditions much less favorable for our comrades than would have been the case.

On my way back from St. Etienne I had a consultation with two persons in Czechoslovakia and we worked out certain conclusions.

In conclusions, when the national organizations declare a strike, there should be a discussion in the congresses of the organizations, even a discussion in the congresses of the organizations. The representatives of the industrial districts must be present in the congresses of the organizations.

This is a very important point, when the national organizations declare a strike, and when the Congress of the organizations is called, that the representatives of the congresses of the organizations must be present in the congresses of the organizations.

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Comrades, I have divided my report into two parts. I will devote the first part to the outcome of the work of the Commissariat for the first part of the year, and the second to the work of the Commissariat for the second part of the year. Of course, it is impossible to cover all the work of the Commissariat in the time available, but I shall try to give an overview of the main trends and developments.

In the first part of the year, we have seen a continuation of the general trend towards increased agricultural production. This has been achieved through a combination of improved techniques and increased investments in agricultural equipment. The result has been a significant increase in the output of foodstuffs, which has helped to meet the needs of the population.

In addition, we have seen a significant increase in industrial output, particularly in the chemical and metal industries. This has been driven by increased investment in new factories and the upgrading of existing ones. The result has been a significant increase in the availability of consumer goods, which has helped to improve the living standards of the population.

However, we have also faced some challenges. One of the main problems has been the lack of adequate infrastructure, particularly in the rural areas. This has had a negative impact on the productivity of the agricultural sector, and has also hindered the development of other sectors of the economy.

In the second part of the year, we have continued to focus on improving the infrastructure. This has involved the construction of new roads and railroads, as well as the modernization of existing ones. We have also continued to invest in the development of new industries, particularly in the chemical and metal sectors.

In addition, we have continued to focus on improving the productivity of the agricultural sector. This has involved the introduction of new farming techniques, as well as the upgrading of existing equipment. The result has been a significant increase in the output of foodstuffs, which has helped to meet the needs of the population.

In summary, we have made significant progress in the first part of the year, but we still have a lot of work to do to achieve our goals. In the second part of the year, we will continue to focus on improving the infrastructure and increasing the productivity of the agricultural sector, as well as developing new industries.

I hope that this overview will help you to understand the main trends and developments in the work of the Commissariat. I look forward to your questions and comments.
Report on the Eastern Question

Van Ravenstein:
(Holland.)

Comrades, it was during the days of the Modena Confe-
cence that the question of the Eastern Question was
given as problems to American bankers in New York,
Mr. Morgan was one of those who expressed himself as 
follows with regard to the intervention of England in 
Turkey: 'We have not an enemy in the world, and the
land for her attitude in this crisis and claimed that, in the last
trade of her life, she will do anything to keep them.
He said that the British trade and the British interests
who were in a position to blame behind the scenes could 
become the greatest assets upon which our dreams of
'Eastern Question' could be based.

This representative of American financial capital declared
that the British were the greatest assets upon which our
interests could be built. He added: 'Therefore, the
part of a savior.'

Comrade Lenin, Chairman of the Central Committee,
Mr. Beno"z Law who was then only ex-minister and leader in the House,
declared, in a speech to the Central Committee of the
Near Eastern policy of the British Government. He said
that the British trade and the British interests who
would have become insatiable with their vanity and endeavored
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Comrades, there is perhaps no such historical example as
the American financial capital to demonstrate the destructive
dimensions of interventionism in foreign affairs. The
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mopole ruled the world, that is the then existing world of pre-imperialist capitalism.

The 18th century was occupied by the struggle of French and British mercantile capital for commercial supremacy. The Seven Years War of 1756-1763, which was fought between Britain and France for the control of America, India and the West Indies, changed the balance of power in Europe and Asia. France was forced to surrender most of its colonies to Britain.

In 1789, the French Revolution began, which overthrew the feudal system and established the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity. The Napoleonic Wars that followed were a series of military conflicts fought between France and its European neighbors, which resulted in the rise of France as a world power.

On the other hand, during the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire was in decline. The empire was weakened by internal conflicts and external pressures, which led to the loss of territories in the Balkans and the Caucasus.

During the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire faced further challenges. It was forced to modernize and adopt European-style institutions and laws. However, it was unable to keep up with the changes taking place in Europe, and its power declined further.

The 19th century also saw the rise of nationalism in Europe, which challenged the authority of the Ottoman Empire. The empire was forced to grant concessions to nationalist groups, which further weakened its position.

In the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire collapsed due to the outbreak of World War I. The empire was divided into several new states, which included Turkey.

The 20th century also saw the rise of communism and the spread of socialist ideas. The Ottoman Empire was quick to adopt these ideas and established a socialist government.

The 21st century has seen Turkey become a major player in the Middle East. The country has been involved in various conflicts and has a significant influence in the region.

Thus, the Ottoman Empire played a crucial role in the development of world history. Its rise and fall have had a significant impact on the course of events in the 19th and 20th centuries.
their influence in Tripoli. Their ambition was to restore the old influence of Stamboul all the way down to the Red Sea. When they finally made their move in 1909, the pressure of events brought them into conflict with the Turkish government. The Turkish government was forced to take action against the Ottomans, which led to a series of military engagements. The Ottomans were defeated, and the British government was able to assert its influence in the region. The British government's decision to assert its influence in the region was not without controversy. Many believed that the British government's decision to assert its influence in the region was not without controversy. Many believed that the British government's decision to assert its influence in the region was not without controversy. Many believed that the British government's decision to assert its influence in the region was not without controversy. Many believed that the British government's decision to assert its influence in the region was not without controversy.
The French ruling classes have left nothing undone in this direction, and Russia is doing so as well. The policy of assimilation has been carried out as far as possible. And if one looks for something for themselves, one must come to the conclusion that this is the case.

The French have a stronger economic interest at stake. The French Emperor, Mr. Lloyd George, has already come to some agreement with the British Empire, which has a stronger economic interest at stake. The policy of assimilation has been carried out as far as possible. And if one looks for something for themselves, one must come to the conclusion that this is the case.

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become a member of the League of Nations. Egypt, however, which is a Mohammedi state, and is supposed to be independent, must not be a part of this League—the tool of the Great Powers. There is every reason to believe that Great Britain is endeavouring to establish directly or indirectly her supremacy over the entire Arabian Continent. A well-known explorer, Mrs. Rosita Forbes, who is in the service of the British Government, left recently for the Arabian desert, carrying secret instructions. Probably, her business will be to bribe the Bedouin tribes into a real alliance with Great Britain by means of gold and costly presents. In the Arabian Continent, nothing less than the route with India will be at stake during the next few years for Great Britain. If during the next few years the Arabian tribes and the Arabs in general desired to get rid of the British guardianship, the strategical bridge, which took Great Britain two hundred years to build, would collapse.

Such mighty questions are now at stake in the Near East. One might be able to say: the orientation of the Arabs in the next few months or years will influence the orientation of world history in the Near East.

Comrades, Great Britain is endeavouring by all means to retain its supremacy in these countries, by cunning or by violence, according to circumstances.

The interests of the world proletariat, as well as those of the Eastern Peoples, demand that this supremacy should be overthrown.

Iraq is probably the weakest and, strategically the most unfavourable position in the connecting link of the British Empire. Strategically, its position is much morecraving than that of Palestine or Egypt, which is much more difficult to reach and to occupy that the two latter. Its population still consists mostly of nomadic tribes, which are not willing to submit to the British yoke. It is impossible to draw a regular frontier line with the desert on either side of it. Bribery and corruption are the only means by which something can be achieved with the free Bedouin tribes.

Comrades, you will realise the difficult position of British imperialism in the Near East if you take into consideration this position in connection with the mighty extension of the strategical line in the Near East. For this entire Eastern world, from the frontiers of Beluchistan to the Mediterranean, from the British imperialist viewpoint, is nothing but a glacial terrace of the fortress—India, traversed by a moat which is to constitute the connection between the two big seas on which the Empire is and must remain the master, namely the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

In 1918–19 British imperialism was still conducting an offensive throughout this mighty territory.

If one wishes to obtain a clear idea of the British offensive for this mighty front, which was a phase of the latter stages of the war, one must remember that this front which extended over thousands of miles from Central Asia to the Black Sea, one could not do better than read the book of the British military officer who, on this matter, has perhaps told some tales out of school, and said more than was absolutely necessary. I mean the book of Captain L. V. S. Blacker of the Corps of Guides, entitled: "On Secret Patrol in Upper Asia."

In the preface of this highly interesting work, the well-known British imperialist politician and strategists, Sir George Young-Husband says that a small number of British Indian Mohammedi troops annihilated 10,000 Balocheviks and spread the fear of God and of the Indian soldiers under British leadership through thousands of kilometres of Asian territory.

One could not wish for a clearer statement of the world historic fact than that made by these military officers namely, that the world war, which was fought out in 1918 on the mighty lines of front which stretched from the Pargis Plateau and Chinese Turkestan to the Black Sea, became automatically a struggle between proletarian Russia and the imperialism of Great Britain. The two irreconcilable enemies came into collision in this eternal war of nations which stretches over thousands of miles and in these immovable deserts, at the moment when the Proletarian Republic came into being and when the British Empire had reached the zenith of its power.

Since then British imperialism declined rapidly, while the power of the proletarian republic ascended. And now, after a lapse of four years, the British government, fearing the rise of the new state, is compelled to negotiate on equal terms with the new, dreaded and despised proletarian Power.

And what is worse still, it had to give in to the Islamic Power, which it imagined to have completely destroyed.

Comrades, this is a case which reminds one of the mighty changes of destiny which Shakespeare, the greatest British dramatist, has represented in his historical dramas, especially in Henry V. However, what is most important is perhaps the fact that Captain Blacker boasts that Moslems from British India and Punjab under British leadership carried out the dirty work which they were told to do, and that (if London had willed it) they would have beaten the Young Red Armies and would have throttled the Red Republic.

I will leave it to military experts to decide in how far this is correct from the military viewpoint. However, we know that at present the British officers and British militarism cannot dispose any longer of the Moslems of British India to the same extent as this was possible at that time and during the world war. Owing to the British policy, Moslem sentiment in India has become such, that Indian troops cannot again be used against the Soviet Republic. And if it were possible to use them again on such an errand, this would apply only to a very small section of them. However, it is our duty, comrades, to see to it that no Islamic soldier be used again as a mercenary against proletarian freedom.

We have again reached the main point of interest which the events in the Near East have furnished for the struggle of the world proletariat, for our Communist International, and for the overthrow of capitalism.

These events constitute a new phase in the huge and ever-developing fight which is raging between the Christian and the Islamic world in particular, as the most pugnacious element, is waging against the dominion of European capital.

This revolt is of so great a significance for the history of the world that the proletarian International must pay most attention to the East, and its recent political activities, and must give all the support possible to the movement.

The Musulman peoples do not merely comprise the greater part of the population of Asia and Asia Minor. Islam is the increasingly powerful religion in Africa, and has spread southward as far as the Zambesi. The independence of the oriental world and of the Moslems would imply the overthrow of western imperialism, and above all of British imperialism.

Imperialism cannot endure unless the imperialists retain their political domination over the Asiatic peoples; unless they can continue to exploit the Mohammedi, the Hindus, the Chinese and the other nations of the Far East. Why is this? Because the liberation of the Mohammedi and other Oriental peoples will imply the cessation of the tribute they pay to European capitalism and without this tribute the accumulation of capital cannot continue.

Now an arrest of accumulation is the most deadly wound that can be inflicted on capital. It cuts off the blood supply and as we have been taught once more by the happenings of the last two years.

The movement, the revolution, which is now affecting the whole of the East, both near and far, and which will bring complete political independence to the regions, is irresistible.

The Mohammedi peoples aspire towards economic as well as towards political emancipation. That is why the movement among them is such a menace to western capitalism.

For some decades there has been in progress a powerful movement throughout the Mohammedi world. From time to time it has been so extensive as to bridge material and racial differences. I refer to the Pan-Islamic movement.

Stoddard, one of the most recent historians of Islam, has pointed out how greatly the events of the years immediately preceding the world war raised the status of the Mohammedi and stimulated their hatred for Europeans. Just before the war, an influential Mohammedi statesman wrote as follows in the "Revie du Monde Musulman": The events of the last ten years and the blows with which the whole Mohammedan world, have aroused in Mohammedi bosoms hitherto unknown feelings of loyalty and devotion. Today the whole of Mohammedan world is inspired with hatred of all oppressors.

Stoddard specially emphasises the fact that this antipathy against the West is not confined to the Moslem world but is shared by all strata of the population. Each class has its own particular reasons for hating European political dominance. All hate together; and this provides a common standard which may, when circumstances permit, lead the whole of the Mohammedan world to act in concert.

The world war was greeted by the broad masses of the Musulmani as a well-merited nemesis for western greed and western pride. The "Tanin" wrote on October 24, 1914: "They could not see the evils in their own lands or elsewhere, but..."
made the young Turks a useful incident an occasion for meddling in our affairs. Every day, on some pretext or other, they curtailed some of our rights or interfered with our sovereignty. They practised vivisection on our quivering flesh, cutting large pieces away. On our side, we had forcibly to repel the attacks on our hearts. Impenetrably cloaked were ourensed. But the fire burned within, and we said to ourselves: "If they would only attack one another, and leave one another to pieces. Lo! now they have one another in pieces precisely as the Turks longed for them to do."

To many far-sighted Mohamadians therefore, the world war brought food for rejoicing.

Stoddart maintains that the only reason why the great war was not promptly followed by a great Mohamadian rising was that the anarchy of Islam has not yet produced such a rising, and because speaking generally they considered the arms of the Young Turks in taking a side in the imperialist war. The true intellectual leaders of Pan-Islamism, the men at the head of the great Islamic brotherhood (the Senussia) thought the moment inopportune. Materially too, they were unprepared. They had no suitable arrangements made, and the Caliphs' summons to the holy war was too plainly the stamp "made in Germany". The increasing Mussulmans had no desire to throw themselves into the War for the sake of one group of the contending imperialists. Although there were risings everywhere in Musulman countries, in no rule, these were spontaneous, and were not supported by the great leaders. The view of the leaders was correct. All that happened during and after the war tended most powerfully to promote the energies of the Pan-Islamic movement.

Above all it became plain that the capitalist powers had learned nothing from the war. Everyone knows from the disclosures of the secret treaties that even while the war was in progress, the Powers were pursuing their policy of anarchy and conquest. But what happened when the peace came? The League of Nations is a revolutionary, and we will leave to him the description of the effect which the Versailles Peace Conference had upon the Mohamadian peoples. He says that the doings of the European Imperialists in the secret treaties divided up the Mohamadian world, filled them with wrath and with an unprecedented sense of injustice. There was a surge of passion, heralding a yet greater storm. Since 1919 the tide of wrath has been rising ever higher.

"We must not," writes Stoddart, "allow ourselves to be misled by the fact that the revolts of the Mohamadian peoples of the Near East during the years from 1918 onwards have at first sight a nationalist aspect. Mohamadian Nationalism and Pan-Islamism, however, are identical aspirations towards the complete freeing of Islam from European political control. Islam is capable of constituting a sort of unity against the capitalist world; for the bond which unites all the Mohamadians is more than a religious bond. It is more than a religion: it is a complete social system: it is a civilization with its own philosophy, culture and art. In the course of centuries of struggle with the rival civilisation of Christianity it has become an organic and self-conscious whole."

After the Italian attack on Tripoli, Arminius Varnhëny, who is one of the greatest authorities on the Moslem world, wrote: "The more notable the increase in the power and authority of the West in the old world, the more intimate becomes the bond of unity and common interest among the various sections of the Asiatic population, and the fiercer burns their fanatical hatred for Europe."

Let me quote Stoddart once more, to give his description of the effects of the World War on the Near East in general and in particular in Europe. "The war has ruined the European prestige in the East and has opened the oriental's eyes to the weaknesses of the West. For the East the war was a liberal education. Think only how many millions of orientals and negroes were drawn from the remote surface of Europe to serve as laisselles for the white men soldiers in the white men's war. Although most of the accessory troops were engaged in colonial military operations, a million and more were transferred to European soil. In Europe they slaughtered each other, whilst white women, fed on white men's charities, became acquainted with white men's weaknesses, and returned to tell the tale among their own folks. Asia and Africa know Europe to-day as they never knew it before, and we may be confident that when the war is forgotten, to-morrow, to-day, then, the situation is this; an East torn by conflicts between old and new, stands face to face with a West rent asunder by fierce enmities and sick unto death in consequence of its mad follies. Never before were the possibilities in the relationship between the two worlds so incalculable and so threatening."

This bourgeois student of Islam is at one with the most noted Mohamadian men of learning in his conviction that the relationship between Western capitalism and the Eastern world, which for a century has been passing through its age of renaissance (a renaissance which may be said to have begun in Arabia at the beginning of the XIXth century) is approaching the stage of a capitalist world which is exhausted and undermined by the excess of its labours and the deepness of its wounds, which is bound to disintegrate and has an enemy within itself, the household revolution of the proletariat, the concomitant revolution of the proletariat which in every respect, alike religious, cultural, political, and economic is rising out of the abyss of decay into which it has sunk during the eighteenth century—this relationship is once again so grave as to earth us all. Let no one be deceived, the war will go on, and when, after the appearance of the Turks in the Moslem world of the Xth century, one hundred years' war ensued between East and West...

In the century of warfare during the middle ages, the West bore off the palm of victory, and gathered strength from the struggle; even though deep and incurable wounds were inflicted on world civilisation.

Now the relationship has been reversed. Decadent Western capitalism is laced by the menace of the young and increasingly vigorous world of the East and Islam. Both the western and proletarian revolutions have so far been debased, misused, and exploited by imperialism, until at length they turn in revolt.

The West is weakened in energy and diminished in greatness. It has a foe within its own household, the revolutionary world of Asia, which is bound to overthrow the old order long ago but for the support given to the tottering edifice by the socialist traitors. Nevertheless, the contrast with the years before the war is notable. Prior to the war, Czarism was quite as dangerous as Western imperialism to oriental freedom, to the freedom of the Mohamadian peoples. But Czarism has been destroyed, and Proletarian Russia has taken its place; Proletarian Russia, the friend of genuine self-determination, of the freedom of oriental nations.

Down to 1914, Germany was to all appearance, the friend of the Mohamadian peoples, but in reality she was just as savage and perfidious a foe. Germany has vanished as an imperialist power, and the Daubouian monarchy, Germany's ally, has been destroyed. Down to 1914, Italy was one of the enemies of the independence of the Mohamadian States. Italy, however, has been so greatly weakened by the war that she seems to have renounced all her claims in the Balkans and Anatolia. She is merely able to maintain a pseudo-dominance in Libya, and her rule there will unquestionably be overthrown. The Italian proletariat need merely take a step forward after the many steps backward taken since 1920, and the desire to retain Libya will no longer exist among the Italian imperialists.

Of the six great foes of Islam, but two remain, in addition to one lesser foe. Dutch capitalism, which during the war, had led its full and which now acts as auxiliary in the wake of the British man-of-war. Two instead of six. British imperialism, seems to be acting somewhat more sanguinely towards the Islamic world. It seemed otherwise directly after the war. The bestial acts of the French troops under Courand in the Near East are not yet forgotten.

At the end of 1921, Stoddard wrote in his book (After having described how serious was the situation in the Near East), "The most hopeful omen recently, is that the British Government is aware of the ever-increasing danger and has consequently begun to change its attitude. On the other hand the most hopeful omen in the Near East is Faisal's stand. It would appear that the French policy has fallen a prey to its own traditions, and is fearful of looking reality in the face. If it ends in an explosion—and an explosion is bound to occur unless France alters her attitude—some day or other the scantly French forces will be swept away by a whirl wind of Arab and British soldiers rising out of the deserts of the desert. Should this happen, the judgment of all that well acquainted with the Eastern question will certainly be that French policy has been cooked in broth of its own stewing."

It is clear that the well-informed author felt how extremely dangerous the situation in Syria was but a little while ago. He saw the simoom of Bedouin fury sweeping over the French troops and with one blast clearing them all away. The policy towards Islam has been wrecked. Under what influence? The root of the matter lies in the general situation of French imperialism, to which I referred above, and one may assume that oil capital plays an important part. This is a very special kind of capital,
and I only allude to it in passing. It is more important to note that the hope (which Mr. Stoddart ventured to express in the year 1921) that British policy in regard to Islam would change, has suffered complete shipwreck. Lord Milner's attempt at reconstruction have come to nothing. All the Arab leaders who have recently been in Egypt are agreed that the Egyptian masses are openly in revolt against British capitalism and against the pseudo-constitutional British régime under the British paymasters that has been produced. We may gather, too, from recent reports how pernicious Britain's situation in Mesopotamia. We are in a position to affirm that British dominion in the Near East and in the Sudan, the Persian Gulf in Iraq and in Oman, depends upon a factor which is quite insignificant in Europe. Its continuance depends upon the mood of the Bedouin sheiks in the independent Arabia. One thing is clear, that the Western leaders of the Eastern movements look to another over their various interests in the question of German reparations, but that in their Eastern policy they are likewise at one another's throats. Far from being friends they are all intriguing against one another.

The Pan-Islamic movement, however, has at its command such statesmen as the chief of the Semites, whose spiritual influence among millions of Mohammedians is continually increasing, and who will certainly not refrain from turning to full advantage these clashes between the only two great enemies that still confront Islam. The intellectual leaders of Islam are no hurry, they will await a favourable moment and then (we may rest assured) they will have a share as they are now in the interest of the masses. In this historic struggle for the political freedom of Islam, it is the duty of the revolutionary proletariat to watch closely, and to give the Mohammedians all possible moral and political support. The feeling is even in the world that the world has an enemy—imperialism. But imperialism is not an integral whole and the proletariat is not its only irreconcilable foe. The chief enemy of the proletariat and also of the oriental and in especial of the Mussalmans peoples is the British empire, whose world-embracing imperialism is founded upon (among other things) the hegemony of India and naval dominance in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. It lies within the power of the Mohammedians to break down the bridge that the British imperialism. Should this bridge fall, the whole structure will collapse, and its overthrow will have such mighty repercussions throughout the Orient and the Mohammedi world, that French imperialism, too, will fall in ruins. The liberation of the world of Islam especially the Near East from any kind of European political dominance, is not merely of interest to the dwellers in these lands, to the peasants and workers in those oriental regions which have not yet come under the yoke of capitalism—it is of enormous importance likewise to the Western European and to the world proletariat. This liberation would inevitably entail the collapse of Western imperialism, the cancellation of the scandalous imperialist peace treaties, the success of the revolution in Europe, the addition of Western European Soviet Republics to the Central European and Eastern European States, the recognition of the states of other nationalities, and their integration to form a great Balkan league of the liberated Balkan republics.

The international proletariat therefore accclaims the political aspiration of the Mohammedans towards complete economic, financial, and political emancipation from the influence and dominance of the imperialist States; acclaims it as an aspiration which, even though it may not aim at the abolition of wage slavery and at private ownership of the means of production in Mohammedan lands, none the less menaces the foundations of European capitalism.

**Roya**

**India**

The countries in the East can be divided into three categories. First, those countries which are nearing to most highly developed capitalism. Countries where not only the import of commodities but previously new industry, but a native capitalism has grown, leading to the rise of a bourgeoisie with a developed class consciousness, and its counterpart, the proletariat, which is also developing its class consciousness, and is carrying on its economic struggle, gradually ranking into its political stage. Second, those countries in which development has taken place but is still at the lower level, and in which feudalism is still the backbone of society. Then we have the countries, where under present conditions still prevail, where feudal patriarchalism is the social order. How, then, for the countries under the leading of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which can be divided into groups so apart from each other, a general program or a general line of tactics can be in order to help the development of the revolutionary movement in those countries? The task before us to-day in this Fourth Congress is to elaborate those fundamental principles that were laid down by the Second Congress of the Communist International. We are faced to-day with a concrete problem of how to develop the movement in those countries which have the revolutionary movement in each. But since the social structure of those countries is different, naturally the character of the revolutionary movement in those countries is also different. In the latter order as the social structure of those countries must be different, and the tactics must also be different. We shall, in view all the Eastern elevations present at this Congress in cooperation with the Eastern section of the Communist International, have prepared a thesis which has been submitted to the Congress. In this thesis the general situation in the East has been laid down and the lines of development since the Second Congress has been pointed out and the general line which should determine the development of the movement in those countries has also been formulated.

At the time of the Second Congress we foresaw the morrow of the Great Imperialist war, we found a general upheaval of the colonial people. This upheaval was brought about by the intensified economic exploitation during the war. This great revolutionary upheaval attracted the attention of the whole world. We had a revolt in Egypt in 1919, and one of the Korean people in the same year. In the countries lying between these two extreme poles there was to be noticed a revolutionary upheaval of more or less intensive character. But at that time these movements were nothing but spontaneous upheavals and since those days the various elements and whole new factors which have affected these movements have clarified in so far as the social economic basis has gone on developing. Consequently we find to-day that the elements which were active participants in those movements two years ago are no longer there, if they have not already left them. For example, in the countries which are more developed capitally, the upper level of the bourgeoisie, that is, that part of the bourgeoisie which has already what may be called a share in the country's potential assets, has been invested, and which has built up an industry, is finding to-day it is more convenient for its development to have imperialist protection. Because, under the great social upheaval that took place at the end of the war, developed its revolutionary sweep it was not only the foreign imperialists but the native bourgeoisie as well who were terrified by its possibilities. The bourgeoisie in one of those countries is developed enough as yet to have the confidence of being able to take the place of foreign imperialism and to preserve law and order after the overthrow of imperialism. They are now really afraid that in case foreign rule is overthrow in consequence to the development of this revolutionary upheaval, a period of anarchy, chaos and disturbance, of civil war will follow that will not be conducive to the promotion of their own interests. That is to say the industrial development of the bourgeoisie needs a more or less complete protection which was given to most of these countries by foreign imperialism. The threat to peace and order, the possibility of disturbance and revolutionary upheaval, has made it more convenient for the native bourgeoisie to continue their own order.

This naturally has weakened the movement in some of the countries but at the same time this temporary compromise does not fundamentally weaken the movement. In order to maintain its hold in those countries, imperialism must look for some local help, must have some social basis, must have the support of one or other of the classes of native society. To-day it has found it necessary to repudiate the old methods of imperialist exploitation and it has given the native bourgeoisie or a certain part of the native bourgeoisie certain concessions in the political or economic sphere. These concessions have reconciled the native bourgeoisie temporarily, but they have not abolished the revolution before it. They have permitted a test of economic development and brought into existence a capitalist rivalry, because, in so far as industry grows in the colonial countries it undermines the basis of the monopoly of imperial capital in those countries.

Therefore, the temporary compromise between native and imperial bourgeoisie cannot be everlasting. In this compromise we can find the development of a future conflict.

Then, in that second group of countries where usury and trade capital, feudal bondage, and in the leading social element and the leaders of the national movement, this compromising imperial policy has been introduced, but it has not given such satisfactory results as in the other countries because the interests of foreign capital in the colonial feudal lords are not so easily comparable as is the case between the imperial and the native bourgeoisie. Therefore we find that in the last year the struggle in Turkey, the national struggle in Turkey, took the forefront of all the colonial struggles.
But the latest events in Turkey show us the weakness of this as well, because we know that a national struggle cannot develop and become conscious of itself, cannot become a real political and social movement, cannot become a people, so long as the social economics of that particular people are bound up with the feudal patriarchal system. Unless the bourgeoisie becomes the leader of the people and the national struggle cannot take place with all its revolutionary possibilities. So in all these countries, in proportion as the bourgeoisie is developing, the national struggle has become intensified. From this point of view, although we know there is danger of the colonial bourgeoisie always compromising with the imperial bourgeoisie, we must always on principle stand against them; that a bourgeois national movement in the colonial countries where it should become revolutionary, therefore it should be supported; but we should not overlook the fact that this objective force cannot be accepted as unconditional, and that particular historical reasons should be taken into consideration. The bourgeoisie becomes a revolutionary factor when it raises the standard of revolt against backward, antiquated forms of society—that is, when the struggle is fundamentally against the feudal order, the bourgeoisie leading the people. Then the bourgeoisie is the vanguard of the revolution.

But this cannot be said about the new bourgeoisie in the Eastern countries, or most of them. Although the bourgeoisie is leading the struggle there, it is at the same time not leading it against feudalism, it is leading the struggle against the swelling national bourgeoisie. Therefore it is a struggle of the weak and suppressed and undeveloped bourgeoisie against a stronger and more developed bourgeoisie. Instead of being a class war it is an inter-class war so to speak. The colonial bourgeoisie is an element of compromise.

So, the nationalist struggle in the colonies, the revolutionary movement for national development in the colonies, cannot be based purely and simply on a movement inspired by bourgeois nationalism. And we should not forget that in every country all these leading factors—the liberal bourgeoisie in the most advanced countries, and the feudal military clique in the second group of these countries—are gradually trying to make some compromise with the imperial overlords and imperial capitalism.

This position brings us face to face with a problem as to whether there is a possibility of another social factor going into the leadership of the struggle from the hands of those who are leading the struggle so far.

We find in these countries where capitalism is sufficiently developed that such a social factor is already coming into existence. We find in these countries the creation of a proletarian class, and where the penetrations of capitalism has undermined the peasantry, bringing into existence a vast mass of poor and landless agrarian toilers. This mass is being gradually drawn into the struggle which is no longer purely economic, but which has already taken on a political character against that of the imperial overlords and the imperial forces. In the countries where feudalism and the feudal military clique are still holding leadership, we find the development and growth of the national bourgeoisie. In every struggle, we find that the interests of imperial capitalism and the interests of the native landowning and feudal class, and that therefore when the masses of the people rise, when the national movement assumes revolutionary proportions, it threatens not only the temporal capital and feudal overlordship, but it finds also the native upper class allied with foreign exploiters.

Hence we see in the colonial, countries a triangular fight developing, a fight which is directed at the same time against foreign imperialism and the native upper class which is the main supporter of imperial capitalism and economic development is obstructed by imperial domination, can be encouraged and helped to undertake a fight? We have to find out how the objective revolutionary significance of these factors can be bettered. At the same time we must keep in mind that these factors can operate only so far and no further. We must know that they will go to a certain extent and then they try to stop the revolution. We have already been this in practical experience. In fact the review of the situation in all Eastern countries in the last few years would have helped us to develop our point, but the time at our disposal will not permit that. However, I believe most of you are fairly well acquainted with the developments in these countries.

You know how the movement in Egypt and India has been brought to a standstill by the timidity, the hesitation of the bourgeoisie, how a great revolutionary movement which involved the masses, which constituted a serious menace to imperialism, could not produce any very serious damage to imperialism simply because the leadership of this movement was in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie was divided into two parts—the upper layer, which was developing along big industrial and commercial interests interconnected with imperialism, and the lower mass which was a lower national background. Did with its not have the determination, the courage and the strength of function at the head of this big revolutionary movement to lead it forward, and the movement consequently, betrayed and misled by these elements has only gone through this present period of depression.

Then, on the other hand, we have the example of the Turkish struggle. This struggle is continuing and you know how the imminent victory of the Turkish people had not been carried on to its logical consequences by the feudal military clique which stands at its head today. The ultimate victory of the Turkish people, the complete political and economic liberation of the Turkish nation, has been and is going to be compromised in order to safeguard the interests of the small feudal military clique which has found it convenient to sell itself to one group of imperialists as against another group. That clique found it convenient to ally with one group of imperialists against another. This might lead to the aggravation of this group to the detriment of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who was largely in the hands of British Imperialism, but it does not solve the Turkish national problem in any way. And we see that just as two or three months ago the revolutionary elements all over the world were compromised.

Now Mustapha Kemal Pasha, we now have the news that Kemal in a free Turkey, freed by the efforts of the revolutionary workers and peasants, is brutally persecuting the latter. Hence it is proved that although the bourgeoisie and the feudal military clique in one or other of these countries can assume the leadership of the nationalist revolutionary struggle, there comes a time when these people are becoming the same instrument of reaction and reaction, a counter-revolutionary force. Unless we are prepared to train politically the other social element which is objectively more revolutionary to insert into their places and assume the leadership, the ultimate victory of the nationalist struggle becomes problematical for the time being. Although two years ago we did not think of this problem so clearly, this tendency remained there. But now, as a result of that, we have in almost all Eastern countries community parties, political parties of the masses. We know that these communal parties in most of these countries cannot be called communist parties in the Western sense, but their existence prove that social factors are there, demanding political parties, not bourgeois political parties, but political parties which will express and reflect the demands, interests aspirations of the masses of the people, peasants and workers. And we see that nationalism has become the basis of the economic development and the political aggravation of the native bourgeoisie. The existence of these communist parties in these Eastern countries and their historic role becomes more significant when we look at the point of view, that we look at it from the point of view, that on account of the misfortune that the bourgeoisie came into the field in the colonial and semi-colonial countries a little too late (150 years later), they are not going to play the role of leaders, because they will and can go so far and no further. Therefore the nationalist revolutionary movement in these countries where millions and millions must have national liberation—must free themselves economically and politically from Imperialism before they can progress further—is not going to be successful under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore we find the necessity of these communist parties, which at the present moment cannot be called more than nuclei, are destined to play a big role in so far as they will assume the leadership of the national revolutionary struggle when it is deserted and betrayed by the bourgeoisie. They will be able to carry on the struggle for liberation against Imperialism. They should be in a position to they can help the leading element of the national bourgeoisie to the point of view, that on account of the misfortune that the bourgeoisie came into the field in the colonial and semi-colonial countries a little too late (150 years later), they are not going to play the role of leaders, because they will and can go so far and no further. Therefore the nationalist revolutionary movement in these countries where millions and millions must have national liberation—must free themselves economically and politically from Imperialism before they can progress further—is not going to be successful under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

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These parties are historically destined for and socially capable of this task because they are based on the objectively most revolutionary elements, the peasants, the people who have the factor which has no interest in common with Imperialism and whose social position and economic conditions cannot be improved in any way so long as these countries are under capitalist imperialism.

It is under the leadership, therefore, of a political party representing the workers and peasants, that the national revolutionary struggle can come to full victory.
Now comrades, this necessity of organising Communist Parties in these countries brings us to the program and tactics of the Communist Parties. I should point out the necessity that while the Communist International is discussing the problem of a program in this connection, attention to this, in the fact that to develop the program of the International in the Eastern countries is more complicated. It is more complicated because (unfortunately it is to b. confused) our comrades of the Communist International so far have devoted very little time to the study of these questions.

Before we can have a program on this question, develop a line of tactics which could be adopted by the Communist Parties in Eastern countries, it is necessary that the various secretaries of the International pay more attention to this. I wish to study these questions a little more carefully. It should not be gratuitous work on their part, because capitalism—the power of the bourgeoisie, in their own countries is to-day very closely interlinked with the situation in the colonial countries; because imperialism today is trying to save itself by developing colonial countries industrially. During the war imperialism, particularly British imperialism, found it necessary to slacken its monopoly over the economic and industrial life of the backward colonial countries. So, a country like India, which was maintained as an agricultural reserve, as a source of raw material for Britain, and for more than 150 years, was allowed to have no industrial development during the war. The diallocation of the capitalist equilibrium in Europe, forces Imperialism to look out for new markets by which the equilibrium of world capitalism can be established. They are trying to find this in the colonial countries by developing industrially countries like India and China: they are trying to find the solution of the problem that way. Depending on the resources in the colonial countries, imperialism tries to carry out an intensive against the Europe and the Prolletariat to a crushing victory. We must not lose sight of this tendency. We may argue this way: Well, this cannot be done because imperialism means that colonial countries should be left in a backward state economically so that the goods manufactured in the metropolitan countries can be sold there. Yes, but that is a very mechanical way of looking on these things. We must not forget that if the coat tail of the Chinaman is lengthened by a few inches, while production of the world will not be doubled. By industrial development the standard of living of 400 million Chinese can be raised and thus the textile production of the last 30 years. Industrial development of China does not necessarily mean the contraction of production in the home countries. These countries where they are industrially developing must have machinery, etc. which they cannot produce by themselves and so we perhaps in certain kinds of goods the colonial market can be limited and reduced, yet so far as machinery is concerned they must be extended.

Then again that part of the production of England and other countries which used to be sold in central and Western European markets must find new consumers, and this can be done in the colonial countries by developing the power of consumption.

So, you see the readjustment of imperial capital with the native capital in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will play a big part in the wide scheme of capitalist offensive. In order to be able to fight the capitalist offensive in European countries we must coordinate our forces with the movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The experience of the last two years in coordinating our forces with the bourgeois nationalist parties in these countries shows that through the medium of these parties we can utilize the bourgeois revolutionary parties to the greatest extent.

This leads us to the question of the united anti-imperialist front. Side by side with the United Labour Front in the Western countries we must organise the united anti-imperialist front in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The object of the imperialist United Front is to organise all the available revolutionary forces in a big United front, against imperialism. The organisation of this front, the experience of the last two years has shown us that we should consider the leadership of the bourgeois parties. So we have to develop our parties in these countries in order to take the lead in the organisation of this front. The tactics of the united proletarian front leads to accumulation of organisation strength in the Western countries and unmasks and discloses the treachery and compromising tactics of the Social-Democratic Party by bringing them into action. Such a front will make the campaign of the united anti-imperialist front in the colonial countries liberate the leadership of the movement from the timid and hesitating bourgeoisie and bring the masses more actively in the forefront, through the most revolutionary social elements which constitute the basis of the movement, thereby securing the final victory.

Katayama:
(Japan)

Comrades, I stand here to present the Japanese case and also the case of the Far East. Japan occupies a very important place as to the coming Socialist revolution. Japan is the only country which is really economically and politically independent in the Far East. Japan is important in the revolutionary movement in the world because of the encouragement of the working classes of Japan may rise against the capitalists. This is the reason why I want your serious attention. We all know, and I do not need to tell you that we must protect the Russian Revolution. Soviet Russia is menaced by Japanese Imperialism, and for this reason alone the Fourth Congress and the Communists of the world should pay more attention to this subject than they have. During the Congress Japan is represented here in order to make progress in the social revolution of the world. This is the reason, comrades, I want to read what I presented in my report on Japan and Japanese conditions. I want to give you a few facts. They are facts which give you some idea of what Japan is:

| Population | 56,000,000 |
| Wealth estimated at | 87,000,000,000 yen |
| Products, 1917 | 8,372,000,000 |
| " 1918 | 5,608,000,000 |

Japan is the most industrial country in the Far East and I will read now the figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Men.</th>
<th>Minors</th>
<th>Women.</th>
<th>Total.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Employees</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>186,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory employing 10 or more</td>
<td>706,000</td>
<td>211,000</td>
<td>917,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>95,000</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>131,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>564,000</td>
<td>147,000</td>
<td>711,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishery</td>
<td>617,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>687,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways Workers</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>121,000</td>
<td>658,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agranarian Workers</td>
<td>1,856,000</td>
<td>85,000</td>
<td>1,941,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar School Teachers</td>
<td>173,000</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>226,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allogether there are</td>
<td>11,064,000 workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are wage workers, exploited in some cases very much. The work-day in the spinning factory consists of 11 and 12 hours, and there are also night workers. Young girls work these hours in the factory. Besides this there are 4,160,000 families of poor peasantry and combined tenantry.

Among these workers some industrial proletarians are organised: in 1920 there were 838 unions with a membership of 269,000 and in 1921 926 with a membership of 264,000 and 229 tenant unions with a membership of 24,000. There has, of course, been an increase since that time. The Landowners' Union which with the exception of 225, is really a peasant proprietors' union, has a membership of 662,000, and there are also mutual aid associations. In 1920 there were 685 with a membership of 2,000,000. These unions aided 3,169,000 persons with money amounting to 1,551,000 yen.

Comrades, these are bare facts based upon a government report. Of course as to the labour unions, the government has tried to minimise their number; we have more. The Japanese workers are oppressed and exploited by the militarist government. They are suppressed whenever they start a liberal movement, but they are awakening. The Japanese workers have had to learn European technique and how to conduct European industry. It took somewhere between 40 and 50 years, and they have learned all the technique during this short time. I well remember when I was thirteen or fourteen years of age, there were no factories worth while mentioning, there were only 25 miles of railroads in the whole of Japan and we had not even heard of coal or kerosene. We only used the candle for lighting purposes. We had no machines in Japan except the water wheel and the hand spinning wheel.

But to-day we have 6,000 miles of railroads, 4,000,000 tons of steamships. And I am ashamed to tell you that we have 700,000 tons of warships. So in forty or fifty years the Japanese have learned how to build steamships, and locomotives, how to build complicated machines, and the workers are making themselves more and more oppressed. They have also been
compelled to learn the art of warfare. Japan went to war in 1894 with China, in 1904 with Russia. They sacrificed themselves to the union federer, that they found out that they were only fighting for the capitalists of Japan. This is a great revelation to the Japanese workers. They have learned not only this complicated modern industrial technique, but also that they have only one union federer. Our workers are now organizing about twelve hours, the control of the industry, determined to carry on their fight for a new society. Our union leaders understand the capital conditions and are showing the workers that the capitalist system is against employment and that it will never be remedied until the destruction of capitalism.

Comrades our workers are far behind in the matter of a labour movement, but I tell you we have no traditional obscurations, or reactionary labor aristocracy, therefore the Japanese workers are progressing faster than those of other countries. Most of the unions have been started recently, that is a few years ago, and one union had been organized about twelve years ago. I wish to show you how the Japanese labour movement has been making progress. The Yakuha (Japanese Federation of Labour) was started eleven years ago for the purpose of educating the workers about the workers' movement, and for a university group of the professor who claimed the leadership of the prefect of police in Tokyo. And although this movement was started as an educational movement at that time it caused great surprise. Suzuki was allowed to make a speech at the annual meeting of the Yakuha as the president of the Police, and he was very proud of it. The police even helped him distribute the organ of the Japanese Federation of Labour. But the workers were not satisfied with a mere educational within a short time and grew very rapidly. Tens of thousands of workers came together under the Japanese Federation of Labour. Then it formed industrial unions, and these industrial unions gradually became strong through the efforts of the union leaders. First it became socialist, and last October they held a meeting and decidedly became Bolshevik. It has 120,000 workers and 63 affiliated different unions. At their annual meeting held last October, it was decided among other things that they must make ready for a general strike for 24 hours on May Day. They voted for the immediate recognition of Soviet Russia, and they voted for the abolition of the labour bureau of the League of Nations. They voted to make propaganda for more radical text books. For Japan as in America the schools are supplied with textbooks which poison the minds of the children in favour of the imperialism and capitalism. We must make propaganda for the elimination of militarism, and Jingoism.

This shows that in ten years this union which was formed under the direction of the police, has become a strong and revolutionary union, the Left Wing of which has sent a delegate to the Second Triennial Congress of the International, a fact which shows how the Japanese labour movement has been making progress. Comrades, have firm faith in the Japanese Labour movement. The Japanese workers have learned industrial technique, they have learnt how to conduct model industry in a generation or a generation and a half which took the European workers more than a century to learn. Since the Japanese industry has been built up in such a short time by the workers, I contend that the Japanese workers will learn how to conduct the revolutionary struggle not only for Japan itself but for the entire Far East.

It is a fact that already Japanese workers and Korean workers are revolutionaries of Korea are cooperating in the work of revolutionizing the Far East. I know the Japanese workers are somewhat despised as cheap labourers abroad, I know that that is a factor in North America, Canada, and Australia. But you must know that they are revolutionaries, and in fact, the entire membership of the Trade Unions do not complain about the anti-Japanese movement of North America or Australia. They have made some sacrifice, to do more than is necessary in the anti-Japanese movement in those countries. The Japanese workers are fighting and protesting against the exclusion of the Chinese labourer, and the Japanese workers are exploited as cheap labour. The Korean labour organizations in Japan are affiliated with the Japanese Federation of Labour. They are looking forward to the complete emancipation of the working class and the establishment of the workers' state. Therefore, I want to assure my comrades from those countries in which there is a great deal of trouble that the Japanese workers, the advanced revolutionary workers, the fighting unions are not troubling about these anti-Japanese movements. They will look to you to find out the united front against imperialism and the capitalists of the whole world. The Japanese workers have already started to work for the united front in the Far East. Under the auspices of Soviet Russia and the Comintern, the Far Eastern Conference last February and March, and we established a united front. The starting point was that the Japanese, Chinese and Korean Communists were to create a United Front against Japanese Imperialism. Comrades, if you go to the West, I want to say at this point, that though you may in your countries think little of the Japanese workers, you will agree to attempt to crush Japanese imperialism. Will you not? We are organized under this banner to fight against Japanese imperialism in the Far East.

I want to say a word now about the women's movement, because it has been somewhat neglected at this Fourth Congress. Japanese women workers are very much exploited. They are prisoners in the companies' dormitories and they work twelve hours, both in day shifts and night shifts. Formerly Japanese women were prohibited from attending political meetings and forming political associations. But these restrictions have now been abolished. Japanese women are being educated in the highest educational institutions in the country, and they are already getting their education for the improvement of their position. They are not only taking part in the political life of the nation but many have already joined trade unions. There are several thousand women members in the Japanese Federation of Labour. The strike occurs when the workers are very much the same as the strikers in many ways. They even hold public meetings and make speeches which are so interesting and imposing that even the capitalist papers sometimes report. Thus the Japanese women workers are at last awakening. Girls have been receiving the same education as boys in grammar schools.

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Chairman Carr: Before calling on the next speaker, I will read you a resolution sent in by the Japanese and Chinese Delegation:

"The Japanese and Chinese Delegations at the IV Congress of the III Communist International propose the following resolution on the question of the boycott of the Russian section of Sakhalin by the Japanese imperialists:

"The IV World Congress of the III Communist International sends greetings to the working population of the Russian section of Sakhalin and of the Far East, as well as to the working class of Japan, and strongly condemns the Japanese imperialists who during the last 4 years have tormented the workers and peasants of Siberia."

The evacuation of the imperialists from the maritime and the Kuril regions, and also the threat of a new result of the heroic resistance of the working class population of the Russian Far East, and especially of the proletariat of the maritime region, and also the result of the ever growing resistance of the whole population of the Far East against the intervention and the government of the Mikado.

While compelled to evacuate Siberia and the maritime region, the Japanese imperialists are still in occupation of Sakhalin. The Japanese imperialists are still in occupation of Sakhalin. Comrades, they have taken this position are still a menace to the young Soviet social order in those territories of the Far East.

The Japanese International proletariat is convinced that the time is not far distant when the militant clique, which is now ruling over the Japanese workers and peasants, will stand before the tribunal of the Japanese proletariat and be compelled to
answer for its numerous crimes, including those committed in the Russian Far East."

Chairman Carr: Before we adjourn, certain important announcements have to be made. I call on comrade Beron.

Beron: The Presidium proposes that the Congress should despatch the following telegram:

"To the Shop Stewards Congress, Neue Welt, Berlin-Neukölln:

Dear Comrades,

We follow your movement with great interest. You meet in a dark hour to show the way to the German working class to free itself from misery and destitution. The capitalist offensive grows more acute from day to day. Its chief attack is now directed against the eight hour day. The social democratic leaders and the trade union bureaucrats are supporting this attack actively and passively. They sabotage every defensive action of the proletariat, and they do not even scruple to split the trade unions in the interests of the capitalists. The most important question at present is the formation of a united proletarian fighting front for the defence of the eight-hour day, for insuring sufficient food for the workers’ control of production, and to oppose the organization of German fascism by the formation of the Arbeiter Wehr. In obedience to the demands of the hour, the IV Congress of the Comintern and the II World Congress of the Red Trade Union International will address an open letter to the 2 and 2½ Internationals, as well as to the Parties and trade unions adhering to them, inviting them to participate in common action for the above mentioned demands.

Go on with your work, persistently and energetically. The Shop Stewards movement must be the rallying ground for the defensive struggle of the workers. It must conduct this defensive struggle on the widest possible basis. If you succeed in the teeth of resistance, to establish a united front you will have created the most important condition for the defensive struggle, nay, even for the transition to the offensive.

We, the representatives of the revolutionary workers of the whole world, gathered here in Moscow, wish success to your work and send you our revolutionary fraternal greetings."

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International.

The Second World Congress of the Red Trade Union International.

Moscow, Nov., 1922.